

**IDEOLOGY**

**and**

**CO-EXISTENCE**

**MORAL RE-ARMAMENT**

# IDEOLOGY AND CO-EXISTENCE

**"The choice for America is Moral Re-Armament or Communism."**

**ADMIRAL WILLIAM H. STANDLEY**  
*Former Chief of Naval Operations and  
United States Ambassador to Moscow.*  
March 24, 1959

**"The choice for America is war or co-existence. And you must choose."**

**PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV**  
*to Vice-President Nixon, July 24, 1959*

**"Upon a foundation of changed lives permanent reconstruction is assured. Apart from changed lives no civilization can endure."**

**DR. FRANK BUCHMAN (1934)**

**"There is a wrong way and a right way for statesmanship. Moral Re-Armament has conclusively demonstrated in some of the most critical national and international deadlocks that when the fear, hate and greed in man is changed, solutions are rapidly achieved. This is the panorama before us—so simple that many miss it, so fundamental we cannot do without it."**

**DR. FRANK BUCHMAN (1959)**

**W**e are at war. World War III has begun. Even while we were celebrating the end of the war of arms in 1918, the Soviet was planning to defeat and enslave the free world through the war of ideas.

There are two ideologies bidding for the world today. One is Moral Re-Armament, which believes that God's Mind should control the world through human nature that has been changed; the other is Communism, which believes that man's mind should control the world through human nature that has been exploited. One or the other must win.

Communism is an ideology. That is, it is an idea that dominates the whole of a person—his motives, his thinking, his living—so that he fights with a strategy to get everybody else to live the same way. It cannot, therefore, be met on the military or economic level alone, but only by a superior ideology.

Communism has a plan to take over our country. We hear of people behind the Iron and Bamboo

Curtains whose minds have been brainwashed, but we may not realize that our own minds are being brainwashed by much of what we read in the newspapers, by what we see on television or in the theater, by what we hear on the radio and even in the pulpit. The Communists do not need to start any new organization when they have so successfully infiltrated those that exist already. It is extremely foolish to believe that a man who follows the party line is not a Communist.

Moral Re-Armament is a superior ideology, with a superior strategy, because it meets the needs of the whole man and because it is available for all men everywhere—non-Communist and Communist alike. It is far more than the answer to Communism. It is the revolutionary idea that is putting right what is wrong and producing for every nation the incorruptible and inspired leadership that alone can create a full and free life for every nation. Radio Moscow itself has said (January 1953):

“Moral Re-Armament is a global ideology with bridgeheads in every nation in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world. It has the power to capture radical revolutionary minds. It is contaminating the minds of the masses. It substitutes for the inevitable class war, the eternal struggle between good and evil.”

William Penn put the alternative of Moral Re-Armament or Communism clearly when he said:

“Men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants.”

Our life and liberty depend not only upon our making the right choice and having the right strategy but also upon our knowing the intentions of the Communist and what he is doing in our midst.

These pages are written that the nature of the ideological conflict may be clearly seen and that the evidence of the victorious answer, given at the Moral Re-Armament Summit Strategy Conferences at Mackinac Island, Michigan and in Caux, Switzerland, may be more widely known and acted upon.

Dr. Hans Koch, who represented the German Foreign Office at the Moral Re-Armament Summit Conference at Mackinac in 1957, and who was Chancellor Adenauer's Adviser on Soviet Affairs said:

“The Summit conferences that will produce true unity in the world will be those held by Moral Re-Armament in Europe and America. They are concerned with the whole world and every aspect of current events.

“What Stalin feared most was the ideology which could unite countries as far apart as Japan and Germany; which could unite all other nations with these two; which could unite free East and West and black and white in an ideological answer to Communism.

“Moral Re-Armament is preparing the way for the next great phase in history. It provides the platform where East and West, Germany and France, the Anglo-Saxons and the colored races unite.”

## THE AIM OF MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

At a birthday celebration given in his honor in the Hans Sachs Haus in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, on June 4, 1950, Dr. Frank Buchman recounted how twelve years earlier he was walking in the Black Forest near Freudenstadt:

“The world was on the edge of chaos,” he said. “Just as today, everyone longed for peace and prepared for war.

“As I walked in those quiet woods one thought kept coming to me—‘Moral and spiritual re-armament, moral and spiritual re-armament. The next great movement in the world will be a movement of moral re-armament for all nations.’

“A few days later I was in London in the East End where the British Labor Movement began. The workers responded. Moral Re-Armament went to the world . . .

“Only the very selfish or the very blind person is content to leave the world as it is today. Most of us would like to change the world. The trouble is, too many of us want to do it our own way.

“Some people have the right diagnosis, but they bring the wrong cure. They reckon without God and without a change in human nature, and the result is confusion, bitterness and war. Other people are quite sure they have the answer in theory, but they always want somebody else or some other nation to begin. The result is frustration and despair.



"When the right diagnosis and the right cure come together, the result is a miracle. Human nature changes and human society changes.

"What are you living for? What is your nation living for? Selfish men and selfish nations can drag the world to total disaster. A new type of man, a new type of statesmanship, a new type of national policy—this is our instant need, and this is the purpose for which Moral Re-Armament has come to birth."\*

## THE AIM OF COMMUNISM

The trained Communist knows what he is fighting for. He has said it and sung it for years:

"'Tis the final conflict,

Let each stand in his place.

The International shall be the human race."

The objectives and problems of life are for him straightforward. They have only to be referred to one standard, one motive—do they or do they not help forward world revolution and world domination. Lenin knew no other test for conduct. "Promises," he said, "are like pie-crusts—made to be broken." Radio Moscow said (August 20, 1950):

"From the point of view of Communist morality, only those acts are moral which contribute to the building up of a new Communist society."

The man or nation without an ideology is bound to be confused by the twists and turns of Soviet diplomacy. Nobody can see clearly if he is fearful, self-seeking or without an ideology. Little crumbs of encouragement are thrown before him and as he greedily pecks them up, he is led down the garden path.

To true revolutionaries the issue has always been clear. As early as 1914 Trotsky said:

"The time for fireside politics is over. We are now in the phase of permanent revolution. It will go on, without interruption, until one side or the other is lying conquered on the ground."

George Dimitrov, when Secretary-General of the Communist International, in his speech to its

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\*This and other quotations from Dr. Frank Buchman are taken from *Remaking the World*.

Seventh Congress, underlined the steadfastness of purpose of the Party. He said:

"We are sometimes accused of departing from our Communist principles. What stupidity, what blindness! We should not be Marxists and Leninist revolutionaries, not disciples of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, if we were not capable of completely altering our tactics and our mode of action as circumstances may dictate. But all the ins and outs of our tactics are directed to a single end—the world revolution."

Khrushchev feels that that day is drawing near. In 1959 he said:

"Communism will sooner or later rule the world. We live in the epic of revolution."

In the same year he told visiting American industrialists that "the day will come when we will bury you." His chief weapon is ideology. He said (June 1957):

"The Communists will destroy capitalism, not with nuclear weapons but through the spread of the ideology. We are as sure of this as we are sure the sun will rise tomorrow. All we have to do is grease our ideology with butter."\*

Kozlov said (July, 1959):

"My trip to America has only confirmed what I thought of this country before I arrived. I repeat the words of Mr. Khrushchev who asserted that 'the children of the present-day Americans will live in a Communist society.'"

Communists change their tactics; their goal remains the same. Whether they talk peace or talk war they remain at war. Today it is not expedient for them to advance their revolution by physical force. They believe they are winning without it.

## COMMUNIST STRATEGY

The strategy outlined by Lenin has been, and is being, followed. He said:

"First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United

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\*In Budapest, December 1, 1959, Khrushchev said: "We shall never forego our ideological principles. We are waging and shall wage an implacable struggle for the Marxist-Leninist ideology, for the triumph of the ideals of Communism."

States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an over-ripe fruit into our hands."

The new party line for the United States was laid down in Moscow in January 1959, during the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the Washington Staff of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers report (August 15, 1959). Their statement says that the two American representatives who attended brought back this directive: "Tone down 'militant action'; get back into the 'mainstream' of American life" and that the details now quickly being planned call for:

1. Infiltration of the labor movement, particularly steel, auto and transportation unions.
2. Formation of a Communist youth movement, to develop replacements for aging Communist leaders.
3. Getting more Negro members; stressing integration troubles.
4. Putting Communists into neighborhood associations (Parent-Teachers Associations, etc.).

Speaking at the Moral Re-Armament Conference at Caux, August 1959, Mr. Arthur Baker, 22 years Chief of the Parliamentary Staff of *The Times* of London, outlined four current aims of Communist strategy to divide Europe. He said:

"First, divide Britain from Germany, France and the United States. We fall for that in Britain as ripe apples fall from trees. We even attack Chancellor Adenauer to whom we owe so much, who has been an ideological rock to Europe's security.

"Second, promote Western trade with Russia and China to the detriment of trade with the free nations. For example, we have recently signed a trade agreement with Russia which will reduce our timber imports from Finland and make both British and Finnish economy more dependent on Russia.

"Third, encourage steady organized breakdown of moral standards and so weaken Britain's moral fiber.

"Fourth, advocate the abolition of nuclear weapons and promote a concept of peaceful co-existence that will mean death. Russia encourages people in the West to do as they please while Communism takes over their country.

"Thank God," he added, "we have this force of Moral Re-Armament—that is the only thing standing between us and Communist takeover."

## STAGES OF COMMUNIST EXPANSION

It is well to recall the stages by which the Soviet has arrived at its present position and how Divine initiative has given Moral Re-Armament the answering strategy.

### (A) Military:

In 1939 the Soviet was the only country under Communist control. Of the three main powers ultimately engaged in the war against Nazi Germany only she gained territory.

"She became enriched by the addition of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Eastern provinces of Poland, Bessarabia and Bukovina from Rumania, the Carpathian - Ruthenia province of Czechoslovakia, half of East Prussia from Germany, slices of Finland, Tannu Tura, Dairen and Port Arthur from China, and the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin from Japan. Quite an impressive record for a power said to be 'in the forefront of the fight against imperialism'."\*

### (B) Political:

All this gave the Soviet strength for her second stage of expansion. As the Red Army deployed across Eastern Europe it was accompanied by trained Communists of many countries. While war-weary nations refused to be disturbed and the Government in Britain hoped for the best from its late, heroic allies, the Communists went to work. A pattern soon emerged. United fronts were formed in which Communists demanded the key positions. Then opposition was removed by intimidation, exile or execution. Rigged elections followed and another country was absorbed into the Communist bloc with every appearance of legality.

By 1947 the democracies had almost collapsed. In Italy and France, in particular, there was widespread and growing disorder. In Britain there was

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\*See *The Third World War*, by Harry Welton (p. 8) — a book which has been helpful in thought and quotation.



heavy and increasing unemployment coupled with the slackening of production. Coal was the key. "Give me coal and I will give you a foreign policy", said the Foreign Minister in 1947. The Soviet thought that their hour had come. Three things prevented this:

(1) On June 5, 1947, the announcement of the Marshall Plan. It was violently opposed by the Communists because it saved Europe from collapse.

(2) The formation, November 24, 1947, of the Schuman government in France and its resolute action.

(3) The ideological initiative of Moral Re-Armament in creating through changed men, totally committed to a superior ideology, the conditions under which the Marshall Plan and the Schuman Plan could work and particularly in effectively defeating the Communist plan to take over the Ruhr and the British coalfields.

The President of the Warwickshire miners, Mr. Frank Painter said (June 1948):

"We had no ideology at all in the British coal industry except that of materialism. But Moral Re-Armament has brought a better idea. It has not only given real teamwork and better output, but it has sent many miners like myself across the world to give evidence of an answer, tried and tested in our British coalfields, and now given to the nations."

Commenting on this development, the *Birmingham Post* said:

"The new spirit is so revealing itself in increased output, that, according to one computation based on recent figures, if the same results were obtained in all British coalfields, the target of 200 million tons a year (1947) would be exceeded by 30 million tons."\*

British coalminers helped to take the answer to the Ruhr. Herr Fritz von Velsen, Managing Director, Nordstern Coal Mine (4000 miners), Gelsenkirchen, Germany, writes, (July 1959):

"The simple facts are that in the economic and political breakdown in Germany following the war

the Communists had made themselves so strong that they had an average of 73% of their men in the workers' councils of the coal and steel concerns of the Ruhr. After that training and the change of heart that many of us found in Moral Re-Armament this Communist influence has gone down to 8% and the power of the party on a mass scale has been broken. In my own mine, Nordstern, where the men had elected 90% Communist representatives and which had become notorious throughout Europe for its messages of greeting to Communist countries, the men and the atmosphere have so changed that people come from many countries to find the answer here. The Indian Minister of Labor and Planning, Mr. G. L. Nanda, has just told me that he learned more after two days with us last week than in the rest of his European tour together."

The failure of the Communist plan to take over in 1947 led to a change in their tactics. The American determination, shown by the European Recovery Plan and the Point Four Plan coupled with their resistance in South Korea (1950) and possession of the atom bomb, meant that their objectives could not be immediately achieved by revolution or armed force.

### **(C) Economic:**

The strategic target of the Communists now became the crippling of the economies of the free world. Britain in Europe and Japan in Asia were particularly vulnerable for, if they cannot produce and sell enough goods to pay for the food they need, they must starve or lose their independence. Trade is the Soviet weapon to bring this about, just as trade is their weapon to capture millions for the Communist ideology.

The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. John Diefenbaker, speaking in London in the Albert Hall said (November 4, 1958):

"The Communist world having changed its direction from open or concealed aggression to trade requires counter-action by the free world.

"Trade has become a major weapon in the Communist world offensive. First it was the U.S.S.R., and now Red China has joined in an Asian trade onslaught, intended to capture markets, and with and through them, the minds of free men. The

\*For the facts and figures of the increase in the production of coal wherever the MRA play *The Forgotten Factor* was shown, see *The World Rebuilt* by Peter Howard.

Communist drive is designed to undermine the economic strength of the free world."

Molotov clearly outlined the policy when, in 1946, he said:

"We are not fighting America as yet. But once we have deprived her of her markets, crisis will follow and cause confusion. After we have taken her markets in Europe, expelled her from Asia and elsewhere, she will have no market where to dump her merchandise. She will curtail her production and then will follow unemployment. Our opportunity to square accounts with America will be at hand."

To achieve control over her intended victims it has been the constant Communist strategy for the last twelve years to increase the economic strength of the Soviet bloc, and to decrease the economic strength of the free world.

**(1) Increasing the economic strength of the Soviet Bloc.**

To reach this end the Soviet subordinates the standard of living in the countries she controls to strategic requirements and organizes each country to produce what it can most effectively contribute to the common goal, irrespective of its own needs. The cumulative strength of this combined force is already having a marked effect and is on the increase. It has also succeeded in severing trade links with the free world and in binding countries to the Soviet bloc by economic ties on which their existence comes to depend.

The Soviet no longer has to begin with military or political conquest. She puts out economic baits that are particularly tempting to countries with newly won independence, who feel that their shaky economy cannot afford to turn down these below-market priced goods or loans. The Soviet plan is to make these "client states" into dependent states, controlled states and, where possible, satellite states.

In 1952 Finland signed a five-year trade agreement with Soviet Russia. Trade with Russia increased to 17 per cent of the exports. In 1958, when the Communist Party won 25 per cent of the seats in Parliament, Russia began a trade boycott to force Finland to change the composition of the Cabinet.

The Finnish Parliamentarian, Mrs. Borg-Sundman, who is also Vice-President of the World

Council of Women, speaking at the Moral Re-Armament Conference at Mackinac, July 1959, warned other nations to equip themselves with the positive ideology before trading with nations ruled by a negative ideology.

"One part of the world uses trade as an ideological weapon to gain control," she said. "The other part uses trade for selfish, divisive ends."

Finland failed to heed the warning the General Secretary of the Finnish Communist Party had given in 1953 when he said: "Our plan is to increase trade with Communist countries up to a point where it plays a decisive part in the national economy. Then Russia's markets will suddenly be withdrawn, resulting in economic chaos and panic. In the resulting chaos we will demand seats in the Cabinet and this time they will not throw us out."

"This," said Mrs. Borg-Sundman, "is what nearly happened in the autumn of 1958 and only through a series of miraculous events in which men united by patriotic and ideological conviction played an effective role were the Communists kept out of the Cabinet."

Trade, subsidized goods, loans, are all part of an ideological plan. The Czechoslovak Statistical Institute, in a reference to the Soviet trade campaign in S.E. Asia and the Middle East, states (1955):

"Czechoslovak participation in this expansion of trade is not guided by purely practical considerations... It follows a plan carefully drawn up in accordance with political considerations."\*

Khrushchev has said:

"Through trade we can destroy other powers that are opposed to us."\*\*

**(2) To decrease the economic strength of the free world.**

The Soviet has concentrated on decreasing the quantity of goods produced in the free world for export by fomenting strikes and unrest and on increasing their cost by raising wages and the cost of production so that they are priced out of the world markets. Uncertainty itself furthers the

\*See *The Third World War*, p. 16.

\*\*Russian sales to the world at large have grown from \$250,000,000 in the late 1930's to \$1,800,000,000 in 1950, to more than \$4,000,000,000 in 1958. Import figures for those years are about the same as the export figures. (*New York Times*, July 4, 1959)



Soviet plan. Many markets and contracts have been lost by the industrial unrest which meant that no fixed price or firm delivery date could be given.

In 1948 the Communist Party's National Executive of Great Britain laid down the basic principle "that the factory or industrial group is the most important form of Communist organization." It was an inevitable decision in economic war. John Gollan, now Secretary General of the Communist Party of Great Britain, stated: "The factory branch is the most important unit of Communist organization."

The Communists concentrated on those industries and places which contribute most to the export trade and where a few men pulled out can cause the greatest resulting stoppage of work. As the London *Daily Herald* said, "If they cannot stop exports at the factory they always end by fomenting strikes at the docks." But here, as in the coal-fields, Moral Re-Armament had a counter strategy. Tom Keep, a militant member of the Communist Party for twenty-two years, brought a delegation from industrial Britain to Mackinac in 1951. He said in September, 1957:

"We were the leaders of the local, national and international strikes which had more or less regularly paralyzed the London docks, lifeline of Britain. For seven years prior to that time there had been one or more major stoppages which we led in the docks of Britain every year . . .

"At Mackinac we found something superior to any economic materialistic formula or theory. We found an answer to class war, violent revolution, poverty and suffering embodied in four absolute moral standards. We found a universal ideology of love capable of changing men. It re-united my family and brought me back from Communism to the Catholic Church.

"We returned to London pledged to take this ideology and apply it in negotiation of some very difficult problems. It was an entirely new approach.

"By persistence and faith we succeeded—to the extent that since 1951 not a single strike has occurred on the level we had known in the past and there have only been two serious stoppages."

The Communists set out to control the trade unions, especially through the shop stewards. Bill

Carron, President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain, has described these men in key positions as subversives "acting under the dictates of a foreign power with the declared purpose of wrecking Britain's economy."\*

Lenin said:

"It is necessary . . . to resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers, illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, only so as to get into trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs."

Councillor John Pate of Sheffield, Amalgamated Engineering Union shop steward, said:

"But for MRA all Britain's basic industries would have been taken over by Communism. MRA came to Britain and gave workers a positive alternative and a strategy to build a new world."

## THE ANSWER MORAL RE-ARMAMENT BRINGS

Moral Re-Armament is giving men a moral ideology, a new motive for industry and trade, and a new basis for united action. Dr. Buchman says:

"Only a new spirit in men can bring a new spirit in industry. Industry can be the pioneer of a new order, where national service replaces selfishness, and where industrial planning is based upon the guidance of God. When labor, management and capital become partners under God's guidance, then industry takes its true place in national life."

The new type of man that Moral Re-Armament is producing finds that the basic problem of industry is not economic but moral. The four moral standards—absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, absolute love—make it possible to decide issues on the basis of *what is right* and not *who is right*.

This is the alternative to the class struggle for industry and it is through the adoption of the class struggle by labor and management that Communism has been able to make such inroads into key industries. Its grip can only be broken by men and women armed with the strategy, the unity and the commitment of a superior ideology. This comes through the acceptance of the guidance of God when every man can know the immediate action he can and must take.

\*See *The Third World War*, p. 174.



*Kommunisti*, the Finnish monthly Communist paper, published (March 1956) a 15-page article by a leading Communist, Jorma Simpura, which gave the warning that Moral Re-Armament is no bourgeois movement but an ideology with its roots well grounded in labor whose impact should not be underrated. It described the philosophy of MRA as "simple and straightforward," said that it demanded change from employer as well as employee, that it spoke to big masses with a punch and followed up its ideological spadework with "reckless" infiltration and penetrating attack.

Illustrations of the effectiveness of this ideology in industry could be taken from all around the world. One of the "five giants of American labor" lay dying. He said to a Senator, "Tell America that when Frank Buchman changed John Riffe he saved American industry 500 million dollars." On his appointment as Executive Vice-President of the CIO (5,500,000 workers) in April 1953—thirteen years after meeting Dr. Buchman—John Riffe listed these aims for labor:

- "(1) To set the pace for unity in the nation by achieving unity within its own house.
- (2) To create with industry a pattern of teamwork that will sell democracy to the millions.
- (3) With the united strength of labor and industry to back the government in a foreign policy that will win all nations."

"Whatever you have done to John Riffe, I'm all for it," said Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O. and United Steel Workers. Murray publicly said of Moral Re-Armament:

"It is a call to action against the divisive materialism which is our unseen enemy. It must appeal to all whose fight is for a new social order as an essential defense of democracy."

Maurice Mercier, Secretary-Treasurer of the Textile Workers' Union (Force Ouvrière) of France, said:

"Not one cry of hate, not one drop of blood shed, not one hour of work lost—this is the greater revolution to which MRA calls management and labor alike."

The ideology of Moral Re-Armament enables wage structures to be quickly altered, taxes lowered

and the standard of living raised. It enables the enforced planning of the Soviet bloc to be met by the voluntary joint action that is necessary to make effective the European Common Market, NATO and all schemes to save and extend the free world.

Adenauer and Schuman have both testified again and again to the major part played by Moral Re-Armament in creating unity in Europe. As a sign of their appreciation both countries have conferred high decorations on Dr. Frank Buchman. Just before he launched the Schuman Plan, Robert Schuman wrote:

"Moral Re-Armament brings us a philosophy of life applied in action... To provide teams of trained men, ready for the service of the state, apostles of reconciliation and builders of a new world, that is the beginning of a far-reaching transformation of society in which the first steps have already been taken."

"My plan will never succeed," Schuman went on to say, "unless hearts are changed on both sides of the Rhine."

The Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Coal and Steel Pool of the Schuman Plan's High Authority, Helmuth Burckhardt, said (September 1953):

"The framework and organization we have been able to set up has sprung in large measure from the ideas and philosophy of Caux... Caux shows us how to deal with the problems that are raised by the need to bring unity to Europe."

Dr. Adenauer wrote to Dr. Buchman in 1951 and said:

"In recent months we have seen the conclusion, after some difficult negotiations, of important international agreements. Here, also, Moral Re-Armament has played an unseen but effective part in bridging differences of opinion between the negotiating parties."

In June 1958 in another of his many messages to Dr. Buchman, Dr. Adenauer wrote:

"Now is the time to work more strongly than ever for European unity through Moral Re-Armament. Unless the work of Moral Re-Armament is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained."

## A TRAINED COMMUNIST SPEAKS

Gerry McManus, who was on the Central Executive of the Canadian Communist Party for 19 years and who was National Secretary of the Canadian Seamen's Union before breaking with the Party in 1950, said at Mackinac in June 1959:

"It burns me up to see our business leaders trotting off to Moscow for brainwashing and then coming back to try to brainwash the rest of us without even realizing what they are doing.

"If the leadership of the free world is sincerely interested in saving civilization they will come to Mackinac which is the only place in the free world where anybody can be equipped with a moral ideology. The choice is Moscow or Mackinac.

"In Canada the same fight is taking place as in other parts of the world. Tim Buck, the leader of the Communist Party of Canada, told the press in Vancouver: 'The Party is gaining few new members in Canada, but is advancing because of nation-wide acceptance of Communist-inspired issues.'

"The campaign for trade with the Communist countries is, of course, part of a world-wide drive for the recognition of Red China. For the Communists, trade is an ideological weapon. If you deliver even ten percent of your national trade to the Communist world, you give them the perfect chance to create a crisis in your country any time they wish to pull the economic rug from under you.

"For ideological reasons they are prepared to undersell any commodity on the world market. The Communists know more about using the Western economy to further their purposes than Western economists know about meeting the needs of mankind.

"If you refuse to listen to me, then at least have the common sense to listen to Lenin who said, 'When the capitalist world starts to trade with us—on that day they will begin to finance their own destruction.'

"Moscow's strategy in promoting the recognition of Red China is to shatter our unity with America, penetrate our highest councils and to disrupt Canada's own national unity. Do we not realize the bitter division such a recognition will cause between French and English Canadians? As a Canadian I am convinced that Quebec will not agree to trading with the Communist world.

"Thousands like me have been standing idly by watching this world disaster take place before our eyes. We are afraid of losing our material security but forget that world security is in grave danger. We babble and play like innocent lambs while we are being led to the final slaughter.

"Dr. Frank Buchman, the initiator of Moral Re-Armament, said in his speech at the opening of the Summit Strategy Conference: 'Could it be that the hate, greed, fear and selfishness which create confusion and division in our own society, are the strength and essence of Communism? Millions who would never join the Communist Party make its advance inevitable by the way they live. MRA has conclusively demonstrated in some of the most critical national and international deadlocks that when the fear, hate and greed in man is changed, solutions are rapidly achieved.'

"In Canada and the United States the floodtide of Communism washes over the nation every day. The choice for us all is Moral Re-Armament or Communism, and today I totally commit myself under God in the fight to build a new world which MRA has pioneered. We will win."

## THE ARMED FORCES SPEAK

General John J. Pershing, during World War II, wrote the foreword to the Moral Re-Armament handbook, *You Can Defend America*. In it he said, "I commend its message to every American." The U. S. War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, termed this manual "probably the most challenging statement of this nation's philosophy of national defense that has yet been written." Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd called Moral Re-Armament, "the fight for a new world, strong, clean, united, that should fire the hearts of all red-blooded Americans and stir their wills to action."

The Commander-in-Chief of the NATO forces in Central Europe, General Valluy, speaking at Caux, September 1959, promised his full support for Moral Re-Armament. The Deputy Chief of the French Defense Staff, General Stehlin, at the same Conference said:

"If the free world is not to be out-maneuvered by this new and very powerful weapon, ideology, we must meet the enemy on his own ground and



with the same weapons. That weapon is Moral Re-Armament. If we can unite the ideological and military factors we will have a real defense of freedom. We will achieve peace and be able to build a new world."

General Béthouart, Member of the French Senate for Morocco and Vice President of the Parliamentary Conference of NATO also spoke and said:

"A recent congress organized by the Parliamentary Conference of NATO brought together leaders from fifteen countries for the defense of the values of the free world. A unanimous resolution expressed the wish that an ideology be established as quickly as possible in opposition to the Communist ideology which is the greatest danger we face at present. That ideology is found here. It is the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. We must have the courage to say so and to spread it."

Air Commodore Nigel Blair-Oliphant, Director of Weapons Engineering of the British Air Ministry, said at Mackinac (August 1959):

"World War III is a total war because it is an ideological war that is being fought for the hearts and minds of men and nations. In the past wars have been fought on three fronts—military, economic and political. In this war ideology controls all three fronts.

"Therefore you cannot take initiative on any one of these fronts without an ideology. Without an ideology we are being defeated separately on each front.

"There is only one answer and that is Moral Re-Armament. The Summit Strategy Conferences at Mackinac and Caux are the ideological bases without which our missiles are worthless. Here is where men are being enlisted and trained to fight.

"At Mackinac and Caux men and women are being given the answer to the Communist line of pacifism and neutralism instead of being disarmed by it.

"In Britain the Communist line is 'Better Red than Dead'. In America the line is 'Co-existence or War'. But the real choice in America and Britain is whether we continue to allow Communism to advance or whether we match it with the superior ideology of Moral Re-Armament."

General Guisan, wartime hero and Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army, in a foreword to the Swiss editions of *Ideology and Co-existence*, which went to every home in the country, said:

"Ideological neutrality plays the enemy's game. In Moral Re-Armament, which I have known for twenty years, a world strategy is being worked out to attack the roots of the world's ills."

Vice Admiral Morton L. Deyo, wartime Commander of the North Atlantic Destroyer Fleet, said at Mackinac (October 1959):

"This is an ideological age. We in the United States are late in realizing it. Trying to run the world through politics, military measures and foreign treaties alone is no longer adequate. Moral Re-Armament has provided an ideology so simple that all peoples can understand it, yet so effective that it can remake the world."

## THE FAR EAST

The Communist strategy for the Far East is to unite the manpower of China with the industrial might of Japan and the natural resources of Indonesia. Then they would be ready for further advance.

Dr. Frank Buchman, who knows the Far East well, has paid nine visits to Japan since 1915 and enjoyed personal friendship with four generations of Japanese leadership. In 1956 he received the Order of the Rising Sun.

Japanese leaders who came to the MRA Assembly at Caux made this statement, which appeared on the front page of *The Observer* of London (July 1950):

"Russia has advanced in Asia because the Soviet Government understands the art of ideological war. It fights for the minds of men. We appeal to the governments and peoples of the West to do the same—to make themselves expert in the philosophy and practice of Moral Re-Armament, which is the ideology of the future. Then all Asia will listen."

Niro Hoshijima, senior Member of the Japanese Diet, told the press in Los Angeles (January 1959):

"History will record five events in the Pacific that have been brought about by the spirit of MRA:

- (1) Reconciliation between Japan and the Philippines and payment of reparation by Japan.
- (2) Release of tension between Japan and Formosa.
- (3) Wrestling of power from the Communists in the Seinendan (the 4,300,000-strong youth organization of Japan).
- (4) Signing of Japan's reparation agreements with Indonesia and Vietnam.
- (5) Giving the basis for diplomatic talks between Japan and South Korea."

In a message to Dr. Buchman, Prime Minister Kishi said, (October 1959):

"The democracies are on the defensive because of the lack of a moral ideology superior to Communism. In the ideological war there is no neutrality nor co-existence.

"I am grateful for Dr. Buchman's initiative in calling this special conference at Mackinac Island to provide the basis of unity for the free nations which will put them on the offensive.

"The leaders of the free nations must pay serious attention to the work of Moral Re-Armament throughout the world if we are to win in the decisive struggle for the future of mankind."

A decisive step in the forwarding of the Communist plan would be the recognition of Red China by America and its admittance into the United Nations. It is to further this end that the Communist strategy is to get the nations to trade with Red China. They know that where businessmen have enough interests involved they will put pressure on their government to protect them.

Moral Re-Armament also enables the uncommitted nations to find an acceptable basis for co-operation. Shri R. N. Mirdha, Speaker of the Rajasthan State Assembly, India, said at Mackinac, 1959:

"India is neutralist because she does not want either the materialism of Russia and China or the materialism of America. Here at Mackinac I see the choice is not between one form of materialism and another. We have another choice—to build a world based on absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. This is the great message I take back with me."

Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma, said (July 1959):

"The Indian government took a wrong and costly step when it recognized Red China. Unless and until free Asia is fully armed and united by a superior ideology in addition to its economic and military strength, recognition of Red China by the free countries will only aid the Communist plan to further expansion in Asia.

"Why flirt with the Communists when, with the ideology of MRA, free Asia and the free world can find the unity and power that will answer Communism? The Communists change, not when we compromise, but when we demonstrate a superior ideology."

## COMMUNIST FRONTS

Communists frequently do not show themselves as Communists. They find they can infiltrate more effectively, for instance, as anti-Communists. They put their men and their money on both sides so that they can stir up trouble they can use. Their object is neither economic nor political but ideological. They are least likely to be spotted in their feeding of the party line and in their brainwashing by those living in moral defeat or without an ideology. Any person who is not clear morally can always be taken over somewhere and part of the Communist attack is to discover, foster and use men's moral failures. Lenin once said, "Postpone operation until the moral disintegration of the enemy makes the delivery of the mortal blow both possible and easy."

Chou En-lai of Red China has said, "We can slip in our Communist ideology through the weak spots in men's character." The greatest fear of the Communists, therefore, is that their ideology will be countered by a superior moral ideology. Moral Re-Armament provides the security of an incorruptible leadership.

A recent Finnish visitor to the Kremlin was told that the greatest obstacle to the advance of Communism was Moral Re-Armament. The Communists therefore do their best in every country to keep people away from Moral Re-Armament by misrepresentation or silence in the press, by threats or by a whispering campaign of the lies thought to be most suitable for each community or country.



At the same time they unscrupulously and uninterruptedly push forward the plan they have for each country through a wide variety of fronts of which the following are examples.

### **(A) The Peace Front**

To screen the economic war, a peace movement was launched at the same time. In September 1947 the Cominform was set up, of which the battlecry and name of its journal was "*For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*." To the accompaniment of talk of "peaceful co-existence" and "friendly competition" the Soviet set about destroying the foundations upon which the economy of the free world rested.

As long ago as 1931 Dimitri Manuilsky, then of the Lenin School of Political Warfare, declared:

"War to the hilt between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in twenty to thirty years. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we will begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist . . ."

Peace remained the cry but war remained the reality. In 1955 Khrushchev said:

"Certain people misunderstand the Geneva Spirit. They ought to remember once and for all that we never renounce and never will renounce our ideas, our struggle for the victory of Communism. There will never be such a thing as our ideological disarming." In the same year he said:

"Victory for Socialism? We don't have to go to war to obtain this victory. Peaceful competition will be enough."

### **(B) The Cultural-Exchange Front**

#### **(1) Playing the Soviet game**

The peace campaign launched with the trade war today increasingly takes the form of persuading people that Communists are really people just like

ourselves—peace-loving and reasonable and that it is to our mutual interest to understand and do business with each other.

We should learn from recent history. Chiang Kai-shek was sold out and the mainland and Manchuria lost to Red China by our falling for the same tactics. Men, later found to be giving the Communist Party line, were successful with their deceptions and achieved the change of direction in American policy. Writers gave the party line discrediting Chiang Kai-shek (just as today they would discredit Adenauer) and saying, "When we speak of the Chinese Communists we should remember that they stand for something rather different from what is ordinarily meant by the word 'Communist'" (Eleanor Lattimore). Raymond Gram Swing went so far as to describe Chinese Communists as "Agrarian radicals trying to establish democratic processes."\*

It is a cardinal policy of war to deceive your enemy. Are we to let him succeed again? Every move of the Communist is designed to lull us and make us feel that all is well and will be well if we go on as we are now—when in fact we are heading straight to disaster. This is the purpose of all cultural exhibitions, of Mikoyan's visit, of Kozlov's visit and his appeal to spiritual values, and for "a return to the Soviet-American 'comradeship' of World War II." When Stalin was first asked by an American to send over the Bolshoi Ballet he replied that he would like to but that he was having trouble on the Manchurian border and needed it there. It is a weapon of war.

When a Montgomery, a Billy Graham, a group of Governors, Senators or industrialists visit Moscow they are entertained there by those who are planning their funeral. Younger and weaker countries are encouraged to do business with the Soviet or Red China and so to start the process by which client states can become satellites. The youth leaders around the world are, likewise, encouraged to accept honeyed invitations to Communist-inspired Youth Festivals like that held in Vienna. Fortunately, many find a superior plan in Moral Re-Armament.

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\*See *No Wonder We Are Losing* by Robert Morris, Chapter VIII.

When a strong group of African leaders visiting Mackinac read that the Governors of nine states were to visit Moscow, they wrote to them saying:

"The British and American officials in our countries have always emphasized the dangers inherent in the Communist way of life. They tell us not to go to Russia. They tell us that the Western way of life is best and that we must imitate it.

"We came to America looking for an answer to Communism and an adequate way of life for our people. But to our surprise we learn that certain American Governors and business leaders are going to Moscow. We were amazed to hear this. It has raised many questions in our minds as to whether we have been misdirected. Think of the effect of this one action on the nations of Africa.

"This is reinforced in Africa as well as in Asia, when subversive forces tell us that Communism is the same thing as Christianity. What are we to think when we hear from your outstanding Christians who said in Moscow that they have seen the Cross of Christ in the Kremlin? What are we to believe? Think of the diabolical cleverness of these men who use the gullibility of American leaders to sell Communism to the world.

"In Africa we say the thief is cleverer than the owner of property. He will watch you, know the time you fall asleep, and then take what he wants."

Only those with an ideology stronger than Communism are ready to visit Communist-controlled countries, and only countries so armed are ready to invite trained Communists into their midst. A Member of the Finnish Parliament says:

"Statesmen need to learn to live an ideology which cures human weakness before they try to deal with nations ruled by an ideology which exploits human weakness."

## **(2) Playing the right game**

The *status quo* cannot be maintained against an ideology. It is necessary to have a positive strategy and "to put right what is wrong everywhere in the world, beginning not tomorrow but today."

In an official Soviet report, July 1959, Moscow said that Khrushchev had cancelled his proposed visit to Scandinavia in view of the position taken by the press and certain personalities in the north-

ern countries. Among these were those Nordic leaders who had planned at the Moral Re-Armament strategic conferences at Caux and Mackinac, how to arouse public opinion to the ideological trap concealed in Khrushchev's visit. In a widely-publicized open letter to the leadership of Scandinavia, Bishop Bengt Jonzon of Sweden, said:

"Inviting Khrushchev to our country is the same as letting the enemy through the front line in a shooting war. It is wrong, unwise and stupid. When we without an ideology are in contact with the Russian dynamic, the current runs towards us, but the current can be changed."

The Bishop added that the only alternative to Communism is to choose Moral Re-Armament, and he sent a message to Caux and Mackinac in which he said:

"Khrushchev's grandchildren will be revolutionary Christians. The trouble with Khrushchev is that he is not revolutionary enough. He could be a magnificent revolutionary Christian."

The leader of the German Party in the Federal Republic, Heinrich Hellwege, speaking at Caux (August, 1959) said:

"Despite any party political differences, I take my stand wholeheartedly beside Chancellor Adenauer in his conviction that the choice facing the world today is between Moral Re-Armament and Communism. Governments who are as convinced of Moral Re-Armament as Moscow is of Communism will lead the world immediately into a new era of unity, peace and freedom.

"If America is to face Khrushchev and his global ideological strategy without having herself an ideology, then the cause of freedom and peace will only lose out. There are in the world today only two global ideologies—Communism and MRA."

Cardinal Cushing in an article headed "Background against which visit must be judged" (*Boston Pilot*, August 1959) wrote:

"Khrushchev is a dedicated man. Therein lies his strength. But he is dedicated to a godless ideology, leading to slavery. That is what makes him so dangerous.

"Men like him have been won to nobler beliefs and have become their greatest champions. But whoever thinks that we can influence Khrushchev



merely by showing him how our democracy functions and how well off we are, has no conception of the passionate, hate-filled contempt for our way of living which possesses Khrushchev and company.

"Day and night, in thought and in deed, he is working with cunning determination together with his associates for the world-wide victory of Communism. Every problem or situation — Berlin, Geneva, friendly visits, cultural exchanges — are used to further one primary purpose — world revolution.

"Every Christian prays: 'Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven.' It is nonsense to pray like that without seriously desiring what we are praying for.

"If I really want it, then I must stand up for it, in my own life and in the life of others, in the life of the nation and in the life of the whole world, with all that I am and have, led by God, in community with others who feel the same obligation.

"Then indeed the miracle will be achieved and other nations and peoples will be impressed. They will follow genuine moral leadership, not material progress.

"That is ideology. That is Christianity. That is moral strength. If we do not choose this way and live it, as individuals and as nations, we choose Communism, as Khrushchev wants us. His only purpose of accepting an invitation to any country is to propagate Communism.

"The Scandinavian countries knew that and their people protested with such vigor that Mr. Khrushchev cancelled his visit."

### **(C) The Church Front**

It may serve the tactics of a Communist to appear religious, but his real purpose remains that expressed by Lenin when he said:

"Our struggle will never cease until the myth of God has vanished from the mind of man."

A former Communist of great distinction and authority, Mr. Eudocio Ravines,\* at one time a

\*Mr. Ravines is the founder of the Communist Party of Peru and a former Professor at the Leninist Academy of Moscow. He headed the Russian delegation to mastermind the Communist take-over of Chile in the thirties, directed the second stage of the

member of the Comintern, told the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Mackinac (July 1959) that Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung met in Peking in 1958 and architected the next phase to destroy the United States by capturing Latin America. He laid stress on the role to be played by the churches and said:

"Communism aims to penetrate those sections of society which are not antagonistic, to get inside them and to use them and destroy them.

"The work of infiltration goes on much more tenaciously than open party work — Communism never shows its own face. This is being done through the universities of North, South and Central America and particularly through the churches of the United States to which Russia attaches great importance.

"The fundamental crisis is spiritual, but religion itself is not enough to fill the ideological vacuum. Therefore Communism is able to exploit the irrational feelings deepest in the hearts of men such as exalted nationalism and racial division."

Mr. Ravines went on to give the answer:

"There is need for an ideology—a superior thinking that will satisfy the hunger for the absolute which burns in the heart of the illiterate and the educated alike. That is why Moral Re-Armament can and must make possible a new type of revolution—a revolution of the spirit. The only thing that can defend our hemisphere at this time when we face the greatest danger of our history is ideological armament. The task of all of us is to advance Moral Re-Armament throughout this hemisphere and the whole world."

Theodore Guething, a machine tool executive, said at Mackinac:

Civil War in Spain, and since his break with Moscow has exposed their tactics in *The Yenan Way*. He is now writing a book that is to be called *The Mackinac Way*.

Speaking in Washington, January 5, 1960, Mr. Ravines said: "When I broke with Communism I became a bitter anti-Communist and Moscow paid little attention to me because I was an ineffective man. But as soon as Moral Re-Armament filled the ideological vacuum in my life I became an effective force. Since then I have been the object of ruthless, repeated, Communist attacks. There are millions like me who would leave the Communist Party if they knew there was something big enough to fill the vacuum."

"We American businessmen don't like being fooled. As chairman of a committee I helped raise \$140,000 for one of the largest Methodist churches in Michigan. Last week the Detroit Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a policy which couldn't have been written better by Mr. Khrushchev himself. The program calls for total world disarmament, admission of Red China to the United Nations, an end to selective service, curtailment of civil defense, and the establishment of Berlin as a free city under U.N. supervision."

To try and keep Christians from an effective ideology the Communists have started a new line. Walter Ulbricht, East German Communist leader, said, (July 1959): "We can put up with the Church so long as it has no ideology."

"Anyone who says that we have Christianity and therefore we do not need Moral Re-Armament does not know either Christianity or Moral Re-Armament," says Bishop Jonzon of Sweden.

"So many of us Christians," he continues, "use God for our purposes instead of letting God use us for His purposes. This is Christianity. This is Moral Re-Armament. Anything less is not Christianity."

Speaking at Mackinac on the occasion of the death of Senator Don Luigi Sturzo (the patriot-priest who founded the Christian Democratic Party of Italy and inspired the post-war leadership of Chancellor Adenauer of Germany, Robert Schuman of France and Prime Minister de Gasperi of Italy), Angelo Pasetto, a former leader in the Italian Communist Party who refound his Catholic faith through Moral Re-Armament, quoted Don Sturzo as saying to him:

"We must fight together because the world is in grave danger. Communism is a great menace. We must bring Christians back to living their Christianity before it is too late. That is what Frank Buchman and Moral Re-Armament are doing. Frank Buchman is a great man. You are our best allies in this fight."

#### **(D) The Co-Existence Front**

In the Communist dictionary "co-existence" means take-over by every method short of a shoot-war.

Khrushchev observed in Warsaw in 1956:

"But of course we must realise that we cannot co-exist eternally. One of us must go to his grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They (the Western powers) don't want to go to their graves either. So what must be done? We must push them to their graves."

R. Vaitheswaran, Lecturer in Economics at Hyderabad University, India, was for six years a member of the Communist Party. Of those six years he spent two and a half in jail. Recently in the Indian Administrative Service examination he was placed first among 23,000 candidates. Speaking at the MRA Assembly at Mackinac, July 1959, he said:

"How can there be co-existence when the Communists have decided to fight until they rule the world? Communism would not be Communism if it were not a fight to the bitter end.

"By 'co-existence' Khrushchev means that Russia retains the right to rule unrestrictedly in her own sphere. He also means freedom for Russia to spread her own ideological poison through her state-subsidized theater and propaganda. And to engineer internal revolutions and crises through the Communist Parties of the world.

"The Communist Party in every country is a united force fighting for a single world revolution.

"Co-existence gives the Soviet the right to infiltrate the democracies without the democratic countries having the right to say what they like about Soviet behavior.

"Russia goes unchallenged when she publicizes on every continent the racial division of Little Rock and the decadence of Hollywood. But America is met by strong opposition when she expresses sympathy for the captive nations.

"China is free to destroy Tibet, but America is not free to rescue Hungary.

"And the most shocking thing of all is, not that China and Russia are what they are, but that we have become what the Russians and Chinese would like us to be—their willing tools for our own destruction.

"Moral Re-Armament is democracy's true ideology. It gives democracy the moral fiber it lacks today. That is why the choice for the world is not



war or co-existence. It is Moral Re-Armament or Communism."

## IDEOLOGY WILL DECIDE

Dr. S. D. Cornell, Executive Officer of the National Academy of Sciences, against the background of long experience in military weapons development at the top levels of the Department of Defense, speaking in Washington, in March 1957, said:

"We scientists know that the world can be destroyed between the lunch and the cocktail hour. We need, of course, to maintain our armed and scientific and productive strength. We need to develop them. But as Admiral Radford has said, the most we can do by these means is to buy time. Victory must be won by other means.

"What is basically an ideological struggle can be won only by a superior ideology. Moral Re-Armament is that ideology."

Mr. Don Belding, a leading American businessman, in a statement at Caux, July 1959, called upon American industry to support the force that was giving the ideological answer. He said:

"The solution is not military defense alone, on which we have spent \$400,000,000,000 since the end of World War II. It is more an ideological problem—not an economic, political or merely military one. We must do more ideologically.

"The work that MRA is doing is the most important thing to answer Communism. We must multiply it a hundred times to create a wave of ideological pressure that will roll Communism back. If this force does not win, people in the United States will not only not have their fortunes—they will not have their lives.

"Major investment in this force is essential to maintain freedom."

Mr. Sid Fuller, in a broadcast over NBC in Los Angeles (July 23, 1959) told of his visit to the Summit Strategy Conference at Mackinac and gave the diagnosis and cure for the situation in this ideological age. He said:

"Today because of an idea, Mackinac Island may well be the arsenal of freedom. Because of Mackinac all men may yet be brothers, may look

ahead to a world in which their children will walk the earth in dignity and peace.

"Like many of you, I, too, have sensed the disturbing feeling that World War III has already begun. The enemy has out-smarted us, out-witted us, by not using the weapons we had expected him to use. He is using an even deadlier tool of war. He is waging an ideological war against us. His objective is not the material wealth we have accumulated. He does not want that destroyed. He wants it for himself and in good time he means to have it.

"Instead of the material, his immediate objective is spiritual. It is the spirit of God-fearing men that he would first weaken, and then destroy. Men without the will, the moral fiber, the deep spiritual fortitude to stand firmly in defense of what is right are doomed to see their freedom lost, their God-given rights denied, their hope of love and laughter unfulfilled. The enemy knows this. He knows that without the spirit there is no will. The man corrupted is the man defenseless.

"How to deal with such a corrosive thing? There is only one way. With an ideology diametrically opposed. This is the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. Here in MRA is a catalyst that first unites and then releases the enormous moral potential of all men of goodwill, whatever their racial or spiritual background.

"It is impossible to visit Mackinac and come away without a firm, fresh faith that free men with God's guidance and only with God's guidance will yet remake the world and achieve lasting justice and an honorable peace for all men."

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